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ABSTRACT

A hierarchical system concerned with stratum at a given point in time was described in this study. Hypotheses were formulated concerning organizational or associational participation, religious preference, family decision-making, educational aspirations for children, and the assimilation of Negroes and Whites in the community. Survey data were collected from 116 respondents from a rural community in northeastern Louisiana. The conclusions indicated more differences in cultural traits between strata within the Negro and White groups than between corresponding strata of the 2 racial groups. White high school and elementary strata were found to differ on the basis of organizational and associational participation while the 2 Negro strata differed on both family decision-making and parental aspirations for children. It was further indicated that cultural pluralism or a difference in cultural traits does not exist when interracial stratum is held constant, although a small amount of social pluralism or institutional skin color distinction does. Further research was needed to validate the change in the relationship of the Negro subculture to the larger White culture. (HBC)

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Sub-culture
In
A Southern Community

by

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Gist and Bennett (1964) point out that it is occasionally necessary to re-examine sub-cultures because what was true ten years ago may not be today. Sub-culture is operationally defined as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits characteristic of persons belonging to an ethnic group as opposed to those acquired by persons of the larger society.[1] Gist and Bennett (1964) are referring specifically to the Negro who comprises approximately ten percent of the total population and is today pressing on every front for equality in American society. So in addition to dealing with a critical population, the significance of the problem is timely and practical. Practical in the sense that it may point out areas to concentrate effort in for integration of Negroes into the larger American culture.

Recent years have seen few studies like Warner and others did in the 1930's and 1940's. This study does not propose to be of that grand a scale; but, it will look at several physical[2] and belief[3] aspects of culture for Negroes

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[1]Derived largely from Edward B. Taylor. See Timasheff (1967).

[2]Physical means physical relations. See Warner's Introduction to Deep South (Davis, et. al., 1941, pp. 7-8).

[3]Beliefs means social relations. See Warner's Introduction to Deep South (Davis, et. al., 1941, pp. 7-8).

and Whites while holding class constant to see whether a significant difference occurs. To accomplish this, already existing data on a southern agricultural community will be utilized. Community is used here in its most primary sense- everyone knows everyone else. Generalization may be possible to the wider population of the rural south.

Review of the Literature

Since the Warner studies in the 1930's Negro and White Americans have been seen as separated by a color line which according to Shibatani and Kwan (1965) is a distinct type of social stratification. American social status depends upon position in two co-existing systems of social stratification: class and ethnic. Class depends largely on occupation, but an ethnic group consists of those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or ficticious, and who are so regarded by others (see Shibatari and Kwan, 1965). Van den Berghe (1967) would argue that racially[4] based divisions of stratification can be regarded as special instances of cultural and/or social pluralism. He says that Negroes do not differ from Whites on cultural traits like religion and thus cultural pluralism does not exist (see van den Berghe, p. 114). However, Americans do make a distinction

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[4]Skin color.

between Negroes and Whites simply because Americans have been making the skin color distinction so long that the absence of cultural differences does not matter, i.e., it has been institutionalized in the form of social pluralism. Pluralism is thus seen as a more specific classificatory scheme than just ethnic group because we can talk of cultural pluralism and social pluralism.[5] This is to say, that rather than talk of the ethnic group vs. the larger society one can talk of the cultural pluralism or social pluralism existing between the ethnic group and larger society.

A stratification system based on cultural pluralism is more flexible than one based on social pluralism for culture can be learned, but institutionalized behavior is rarely changed. Skin color for the Negro is his distinguishing social characteristic and persons who have at least one Negro ancestor are known as Negroes. Such a stratification system results in an impermeable caste system, an estreme case of ascribed status. One may be mobile upward in the classes of his own caste, but not agross the color line or caste boundary.

Shibutani and Kwan (1965) point out two key words for understanding the color line or caste-class stratification

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[5]Warner would have used the terms physical and belief aspects of culture.

system: acculturation and assimilation. These two terms are borrowed from cultural anthropology. Acculturation is defined as learning the culture of another group while assimilation refers to both the acquisition of the perspective of another group and the attempt to identify with it. While these two terms are somewhat synonomous with socialization and integration, they have just enough difference of meaning that they should be accepted by sociologists in "anthropological jargon." It is interesting to note that acculturation may take place without assimilation, that is to say that a minority group may alter their culture but still retain consciousness of kind or the larger society may still remain conscious of their kind. For instance, the American Negro may be indistinguishable in physical, economic possessions and occupation from white Americans yet, be excluded from full participation in total society.[6]

Cash (1941), Davis (Davis et. al., 1941), and Dollard (1949) were among the first to study stratification in the south, and all found a caste-class system in operation. The single biggest factor to caste was endogomy of marriage. The following quote from Davis (Davis et. al., 1941, p. 8) was recurrent throughout the writing of each author:

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[6]Total society equals White society.

> Some Negro men and women may have a Negroid genetic structure and some white men and women may have a caucasoid genetic structure; but any physical relations of Negroes and Whites in Old City are controlled not by their genetic structure but by social traditions organized into a social system which allows and forbids certain actions.

Also pointed out where differentials in speech and conduct such as a Negro holding a door for a White or letting a White get in line first. It was constantly pointed out that Whiteness meant full dignity and participation in American society while Blackness meant inferior dignity and limited participation.

Undoubtedly, a diagram[7] is best suited for explaining the caste-class arrangement as seen by Cash (1941), Davis (Davis, et. al., 1941), and Dollard. What can here be given beneficially are specific relationships of the caste-class stratification system as it existed then. Upper class for Whites depends greatly on historical names (Dollard, 1949). For Negroes, upper-class standing was based primarily on economic life style. Suprisingly, tacit recognition of upper-class Negro standing was given by such gestures as gasoline station attendants tipping their hats, but it was never open. Middle-class Whites resisted competition from lower-class Negroes; but they quickly recognized their similarities to Negroes who had

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[7]See Diagram 1 in Appendix.

attained middle-class status (Dollard, 1949). One reason the middle-class Whites stressed these differences was because they were none too sure of their position (Dollard, 1949). As for the lower-class Whites, they resented both upper-class Whites and middle-class Negroes. Most of the preceeding information was gathered from an urban setting, but those authors also include some specific information on the Southern rural setting of their time.

According to Davis (Davis, et. al., 1941), caste etiquett was almost always exactly followed in the rural areas. In these areas Whites were predominantly middle-class and upper-class planters, while Negroes were predominantly lower-class tenant farmers. Cash (1941) points out that poor White farmers had a hard time thinking of poor Negro neighbors as inferior when their kids played together and they often talked together of the seasonal hazards to farming. Yet, the poor White farmer was white. Actually the poor Negro tenant was better off than the poor White according to Davis (Davis, et. al., 1941) because White owners had a paternalistic outlook on their Negro tenants. With this background on southern caste-class stratification in general, attention can now be focused on a few specific areas which will lend themselves to hypothesis formation later.

One area of focus is organizational or associational participation. Each caste had its own duplicate organization

or association, i.e., a White Veterans of Foreign Wars and a Black Veterans of Foreign Wars. Within the White community upper-class persons seldom actively participated in community organizations or activities according to Davis (Davis, et. al., 1941). He goes on to say that the middle-class were the real participants in organizations and associations like PTA or Rotary Club while the lower-class does not take part in the organizations or associational activity found in the middle-class. Davis (Davis, et. al., 1941) also points out organizational and associational differences in the Negro caste between classes. The Negro upper-class had two card groups while the Negro middle-class had a card club and supported church clubs, benefit societies, and welfare clubs like the Junior Missionary Society. However, the middle-class Negroes did not belong to sickness and death benefit societies. These were supported totally by the Negro lower-class. A comparison of recent studies by Hausknecht (1962) is somewhat confusing. While in the American Institute Public Opinion and National Opinion Research Center studies he found no difference in membership rate for Whites and Negroes, he did find a difference in the Survey Research Center study.[8] On the other hand, he did find that more Negroes than Whites belong to two or more

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[8]This study is explained in Lane (1959, p. 78).

organizations. The confusion arises from one study lending support to the first statement but not the second.

Religion for the White caste classes is supported primarily by the middle-class (see Davis, et. al., 1941). The upper-class only tacitly participates while the lower-class also participates very little. During the nineteenth century the Negro and White churches were the same churches, but Dollard, (1949) points out that at the time of his study they had separate Negro and White churches--lower-class Negroes have different churches than middle-class Negroes. A recent study by Lazerwits (1961) shows religious preference for the upper-class to be mostly Episcopalian, Jewish, and Presbyterian. For the middle-class it was Methodist, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and a "no religion group." The lower-class was Baptist, the only religious denomination where a Negro-White distinction was significant. Lazerwitz used educational, income, and occupational standing of respondents to form his classes. Similar findings to Lazerwitz are reported by Lenski (1963) who used income and occupation in forming four classes for his study.

As for family decision making, Dollard (1941) found the husband dominant in the Negro middle-class family, but the wife more dominant in the lower-class Negro family. Citing more recent works, Cavan (1963) sees both upper-class Negro and White family decision making as resting

with the husband. For the middle-class Whites she sees an interlocking between both husband and wife in decision making; but for the Negro, the husband definitely is the decision maker. In the lower-class, a Negro-White distinction again holds up in White families, the husband generally makes the decisions, but, in the Negro families, the mother makes decisions. Accepting Warner's basic definition, Cavan see class basically in terms of socio-economic status.

The last area for consideration is the level of parental aspirations for children. Cash (1941) pointed out that beginning in the 1930's, Negro parents had approximately the same aspirations for their children as Whites. Recent studies by Gist and Bennett (1963 and 1964) in Kansas City show no significant differences between parental aspirations for Negroes or Whites when holding socio-economic class constant. Reisman's modified North-Hatt occupational prestigue scale was reduced from nine to three broad categories for this purpose. Also, Cramer (Cramer, et. al., 1966) found this to be the case in a large scale southern United States study in which social class was conceived of in socio-economic terms as measured by straight foreward calculations from Census data.

The review of past and current literature indicates little or no physical differences between Negroes and

Whites. This is to say that they do not differ on cultural traits. A fact Cash (1941), Davis (1941), and Dollard (1949) deemphasize in their books; however, they do stress a difference in beliefs. Gist and Bennett (1963 and 1964) have called our attention to the fact that these beliefs may be breaking down so that sociologists can no longer speak of a Negro sub-culture. In the terms of van den Berghe, America would have only social pluralism and not cultural pluralism.

Before proceeding further, it may prove most beneficial to focus on several points concerning sociological theory made by Laswell (1965). He says that research in social class and social stratification is mired down in understandardized terminology, nebulous concepts, and constructs which are generalized in application far beyond their operational definitions. In addition to this, he says the following:

> "It is shocking to find research sociologists making purportedly general statements, using the term 'social class' in the full, non-specific terminology of the layman, when discussing data derived from research in which social classes have been operationally defined as ordered occupational categories."

Laswell's concluding remark is that this lack or responsibility in use of terminology deprives much research of meaning and lowers the quality of derived theory. Effective communication among researchers and theorists becomes almost impossible. (Lasswell, 1965, p. 473).

Dahrendorf (1959) seems to provide a solution for this paradox. He says that initially the word "class" was used simply to distinguish social strata by their rank or wealth. During the nineteenth century, class denoted conflict in the works of Ricardo, Saint-Simon, and Marx. More recently, Centers (see Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 75) says that class, as distinguished from stratum, can well be regarded as psychological phenomena in the fullest sense of the term. Dahrendorf (1959) states that class is always a category for purposes of the analysis of the dynamics of social conflict and its structural roots, and as such it has to be separated strictly from stratum as a category for purposes of describing hierarchical systems at a given point of time. He goes on to say that Warner should not have spoken of his equally ranking groups as upper-upper class but upper-upper stratum. This study will be describing a hierarchical system at a given point of time; thus according to Dahrendorf it is concerned with stratum and not class. Likewise, just as Warner was actually concerned with stratum rather than class, so was all the other research cited.

Hypothesis

The literature review gives rise to several hypotheses. For each of the following hypothesis, stratum is held constant. In each hypothesis race is the independent variable.

I. No significant difference in organizational or

associational participation occurs between Negroes and Whites. Participation is operationally defined as the number of organizations or associations to which a person is a member.

II. No significant difference in religious preference occurs between Negroes and Whites. Religious preference is operationally defined as one of five denominations--Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Pentecostal--or other.

III. No significant difference exists for who makes most of the family decisions in Negro and White families. Family decisions making is operationally defined as the person making the most decisions: husband, both, wife, or someone else. In addition, the term most is operationally defined as one or more decisions than any other family member.

IV. No significant difference exists between Negro and White parents in level of educational aspirations for their children. Level of education is operationally defined as the amount of education desired. (see Sewell and Shah, 1968: Yoestring, et. al., 1969).

V. No significant difference exists in the assimilation of Negroes and Whites in the community. Assimilation has previously been defined. To operationalize the term, it was felt by the author that two questions on the interview schedule were best: Do you feel that you should

attend the funeral of almost everyone who dies in this area? Do you mind asking favors or help from almost anyone in this community?

Methodology

To gather the data, the survey method was used. 116 respondents were selected from a rural economic community in northeastern Louisiana. 68 are Negro and 50 are White. These respondents were stratified on the basis of educational attainment. The use of such a single indicator for class as educational attainment is concurrent with the methodology of Lenski (1966). And, it does have the highest correlation with other possible indicators.[9] Also, it is a type of indicator similar to that used in the theoretical background (see Gordon, 1963).[10]

Findings

While strata breaking points are arbitrary, natural breaks are customarily used. In the American educational system, these natural breaks occur at the eighth grade, high school and college. After stratifing both the Negro and White subsamples on this basis, further justification was sought by comparing this objective educational attainment

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[9] See Table 1 in the Appendix.

[10] See Diagram 2 in the Appendix.

with the respondents' subjective self-classification.[11] For the White respondents, a chi square of $x^2=29.17$ showed this to be significant beyond the .001 level. In addition, a Tschuprow's T of T=.55 indicates the relationship to be quite strong. It also proved to be significant for Negro respondents at the .001 with a chi square of $x^2=22.29$. Again Tschuprow's T with T=.41 indicated a strong relationship. The manner in which the respondents have been stratified is meaningful to them and the larger society as a whole.

Before testing the hypotheses, it was felt important to establish that the strata within each racial group differ from each other on cultural traits. For this purpose each of the first four hypotheses were changed to read like the following; a significant difference in political preference occurs between college strata whites and high school strata whites.

The following results were obtained on indicators of cultural traits for college stratum and high school stratum Whites by the Chi Square test:[12] organization and associatical participation, $x^2=3.73$, greater than the .10 level of significance; religious preference, $x^2=1.03$, not significant, parental aspirations, $x^2=2.40$, not significant.

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[11] See Table 2 in Appendix.

[12] See Table 3 in Appendix.

No significant differences were found between college and high school stratum Whites.

For the high school stratum versus elementary stratum Whites, the following results were obtained by the Chi Square test:[13] organizational and associational participation x^2=5.81, significant at the .02 level; religious preference, x^2=.42 not significant; family decision, x^2-4.06, not significant; parental aspirations, x^2=1.11, not significant. The only significant difference between the White high school and White elementary strata is for organizational and associational participation. While high school respondents were more likely to participate in one or more associations or organizations whereas lower stratum Whites were more likely to participate in none.

Turning to the two Negro strats, the following results were obtained by use of the Chi Square test:[14] organizational and associational participation, x^2=1.36, not significant; religious preference, x^2=.18, not significant; family decision making, x^2=11.31, significant beyond the .01 level; parental aspirations, x^2=9.95, significant beyond the .01 level. Significant differences between the Negro strata were found for family decision making and parental aspirations for their children's educational

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[13]See Table 4 in the Appendix.

[14]See Table 5 in the Appendix.

achievement. In elementary stratum households, husbands and both the husband and wife make most of the decisions where as in high school stratum households, it is someone besides the husband and wife. As for parental educational aspirations, most of the high school respondents reported a desire to have their children decide for themselves, while many of the elementary stratum Negroes also reported a desire for their children to graduate from college.

It has not been established that cultural differences do exist between intra-racial stratum; however, attention will now be focused on corresponding inter-racial stratum; e.g. Negro versus White high school strata. The Chi Square test obtained the following results when high school stratum Whites were compared to high school stratum Negroes;[15] organizational and associational participation, $x^2=17.55$, significant beyond the .001 level; religious preference, $x^2=1.67$, not significant, family decision making, $x^2=5.80$, not significant; parental aspirations for children, $x^2=2.22$, not significant. For the Negro versus White high school strata, the only case of significantly different cultural traits occurred for organizational and associational participation. Whites were much more likely to participate in one or more organizations and associations whereas Negroes were likely not to participate in any.

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[15] See Table 6 in the Appendix.

The elementary school strata White and Negro strata were also compared on the basis of cultural traits. The following results were obtained:[16] organizational and associational participation, $x^2=.13$, not significant; religious preference, $x^2=.94$, not significant; family decision making, $x^2=3.98$, parental aspirations for children, $x^2=3.56$, not significant. There are no significant differences between elementary school strata Whites and Negroes for the cultural traits tested.

Results have been reported for the first four hypotheses which deal with cultural traits. The fifth and last hypothesis concerns assimilation. When asked whether they felt that they should attend the funeral of almost everyone who dies in the community, the response differed within racial groups as well as across comparable strata. Elementary strata White and Negro as well as high school stratum Whites felt that they should attend the funeral of almost everyone who dies in this community. On the other hand, college stratum Whites and high school stratum Negroes felt that they should not attend the funeral of almost everyone. The second indicator of assimilation was whether the respondents minded asking favors or help from almost anyone in this community. Only the White elementary stratum indicated that they minded asking favors from almost

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[16] See Table 7 in the Appendix.

anyone in the community. The evidence seems to indicate a tendency towards assimilation with six instances of strata indicating a likelihood for assimilative behavior as opposed to three instances of indicated non-likelihood for assimilative behavior.

Conclusion

There seems to be more differences in cultural traits between strata within the Negro and White groups than between corresponding strata of the two racial groups. White high school and elementary strata were found to differ on the basis of organizational and associational participation while the two Negro strata differed on both family decision making and parental aspirations for children. Holding stratum constant for inter-racial comparison, the only significant difference for cultural traits was found between high school strata on organizational and associational participation.

As far as assimilation is concerned, the results indicate a tendency towards assimilative behavior.

Discussion

In testing the hypothesis, inter-racial stratum was held constant; i.e., White high school stratum respondents were compared to Negro high school stratum respondents and White elementary stratum respondents were compared to Negro elementary stratum respondents. The concept of stratum,

existing within an ethnic or racial group is not unique to this research. Unfortunately most researchers mintakenly call these strata classes. Shihatani and Kwan (1965) see American social status depending on position in two co-existing systems of social stratification. Also, Gordon, (1964) defines his ethclass as the sub-society created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class. He goes on to say that people of the same social class tend to act alike and to have the same values even if they have different ethnic backgrounds. This is what van den Berghe (1967) also argues concerning racially based divisions of stratification. Berghe is saying that Negroes do not differ from Whites on traits like religion and regional subculture.

While the White strata do not seem to differ greatly from each other on the selected cultural traits, the Negro strata differed more. The strata were justifiably drawn and the original hypothesis proven. In inter-racial comparisons while holding stratum constant, it was found that a Hausknecht found in analysing two out of three studies: no difference in membership rates occurred for upper Stratum Whites and Negroes. Lazerwits (1961) had found lower-class Baptist the only religious denomination where a White and Negro distinction was significant and the findings of this research seem to largely support him.

Looking at family decision making and parental aspirations for their children, no significant difference is found by holding stratum constant as Cavan (1963) and Gist and Bennett (1963 and 1964) had predicted. The apt question to raise is what these hypothese mean inter-racially when no substantial difference on the traits exist intra-racially.

An answer is provided by Davis and Havinghurst (1946) who found that within racial groups there was more variation than across racial groups when stratum was held constant. While the evidence in this study is not overwhelming, it does agree with the observation of Davis and Havinghurst. Even these results are quite different from the findings of Cash (1941), Davis (et. al., 1941), and Dollard (1949). In addition, it should be considered that four cultural traits is an extremely limited number with thich to be dealing.

Both Gordon (1964) and van den Berghe (1967) theorize that social differences will exist. A conclusion reached by Cash (1941); Davis (Davis, et. al., 1941), and Dollard (1949) and in the 1930's. Gordon (1964) says that with regard to social participation in primary groups and primary relationships, people tend to confine these to their own social class segment within their own ethnic group. Calling this social pluralism, van den Burghe says that Americans make a distinction between Negroes and Whites simply because they have been making the skin color

distinction so long that the absence of cultural differences does not matter. All are talking of assimilation as opposed to acculturation. However, this research does not seem to support these theoretical orientations. Yet, the findings do not actually refute social pluralism's position that persons tend to confine their primary ties to their like, ethnic-class comrades. Just because people say that they would ask favors of everybody, it does not mean that they actually will ask the favors.

In conclusion, this study seems to indicate that cultural pluralism or a difference on cultural traits does not exist when inter-racial stratum is held constant. On the other hand, a small amount of social pluralism or institutional skin color distinction does exist when inter-racial stratum is held constant. Of course, only four cultural traits and two indicators of assimilation were used out of possible hundreds. Yet, especially the cultural traits are often used to stereotypically classify persons when their actual racial identity is unknown. The relationship of the Negro subculture to the larger White culture has shown a change. An area needing re-examination according to Gist and Bennett (1964) because what was true ten years ago may not be true today. Further research is needed to validate the findings.

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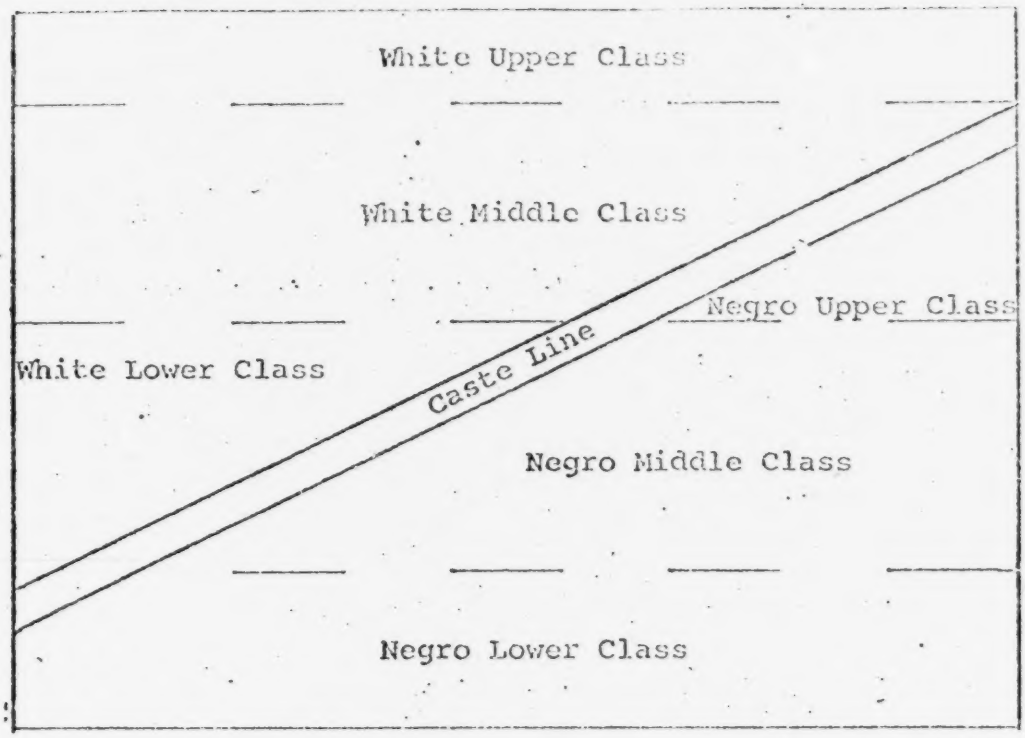
Diagram 1. Class-Caste System



(Adopted from Davis et. al., 1941)

Diagram 2.

Researcher	Basis, The Researcher Used For Stratifying
Cash	Historical Approach
Cavan	Primarily Socio-economic Status
Cramer	Socio-economic Status
Davis	Reputational Approach Primarily Socio-economic Status
Dawidowicz and Goldstein	Socio-economic Status
Dollard	Reputational Approach Primarily Socio-economic Status
Gist and Bennett	Occupational Status
Hausknecht	Occupational Status Economic Status
Lazerwitz	Socio-economic Status
Lenski	Income Status Occupational Status
Wilson	Intuitive Laymans Meaning

Table 1. Intercorrelations of Various Status Indicators

Indicators of Status	Household Items	Objective			Subjective			
		Income	Education	Occupation	Income	Education	Net Worth	Standard of Living
Objective								
Household Items		.3178	.6255	.5905	.5871	.6014	-.4934	.5275
Income			.6787	.6671	.0501	.0608	.0165	.0022
Education				.6334	.3280	.3169	.2964	.3055
Occupation					.0877	.1099	.0081	.0507
Subjective								
Income						.9190	.8957	.9072
Education							.8631	.8828
Net Worth								.9033
Standard of Living								

Table 2. Actual Years of Education vs. Self Comparison to Others

Self Rating	Elementary	High School	College	ChiSquare	Significance	
Negroes						
above average	0	0	0			
average	16	18	1	$x^2=22.99$	$p>.001$	T=.41
below average	24	6	0			
Whites						
above average	0	3	18			
average	11	8	3	$x^2=29.17$	$p>.001$	T=.55
below average	2	1	0			

Table 3. Cultural Traits: White High School Stratum vs. White College Stratum

Cultural Traits	College Stratum	High School Stratum	Chi-Square	Significance
Organizational and Associational Participation				
No Organizations	1	20	3.73	N.S.
One or More	20	11	(1d.f.)	$p > .10$
Religious Preference				
Baptist	9	9	1.03	N.S.
Other	12	6	(1d.f.)	$p > .50$
Family Decision Making				
Husband	5	4	.04	N.S.
Both Husband and Wife	13	9	(2d.f.)	$p > .98$
Someone Else	3	2		
Parental Educational Aspirations for Children				
Graduate from High School	0	1	2.40	N.S.
Graduate from College	14	7	(2d.f.)	$p > .30$
Child Decides Himself	7	7		

Table 4. Cultural Traits: White High School Stratus vs. White Elementary Stratum

Cultural Traits	High School Stratum	Elementary Stratum	Chi-Square	Significance
Organizational and Associational Participation				
No Organizations	4	10	5.81	N.S.
One or More	11	4	(1d.f.)	$p > .02$
Religious Preference				
Baptist	9	10	.42	N.S.
Other	6	4	(1d.f.)	$p > .50$
Family Decision Making				
Husband	5	1	4.06	N.S.
Both Husband and Wife	9	9	(2d.f.)	$p > .10$
Someone Else	1	4		
Parental Educational Aspirations for Children				
Graduate from High School	1	0	1.11	N.S.
Graduate from College	7	6	(2d.f.)	$p > .80$
Child Decides Himself	7	8		

Table 5. Cultural Traits: Negro High School Stratum vs. Negro Elementary Stratum

Cultural Traits	High School Stratum	Elementary Stratum	Chi-Square	Significance
Organizational and Associational Participation				
No Organizations	22	32	1.36	N.S.
One or More	2	10	(1d.f.)	$p > .30$
Religious Preference				
Baptist	19	35	.18	N.S.
Other	5	7	(1d.f.)	$p > .80$
Family Decision Making				
Husband	6	12	11.3074	Significant
Both Husband and Wife	6	25	(2d.f.)	$p > .01$
Someone Else	11	5		
Parental Educational Aspirations for Children				
Graduate from High School	0	8	9.9485	Significant
Graduate from College	6	18	(2d.f.)	$p > .01$
Child Decides Himself	18	16		

Table 6. Cultural Traits: Negro High School Stratum vs. White High School Stratum

Cultural Traits	Negro High School Stratum	White High School Stratum	Chi-Square	Significance
Organizational and Associational Participation				
No Organizations	22	4	17.55	Significant
One or More	2	11	(1d.f.)	
Religious Preference				
Baptist	19	9	1.67	N.S.
Other	5	6	(1d.f.)	p > .20
Family Decision Making				
Husband	6	4	5.80	N.S.
Both Husband and Wife	6	9	(2d.f.)	p > .10
Someone Else	11	2		
Parental Educational Aspirations for Children				
Graduate from High School	0	1	2.22	N.S.
Graduate from College	6	7	(2d.f.)	p > .20
Child Decides Himself	18	7		

Table 7. Cultural Traits: Negro Elementary Stratum vs. White Elementary Stratum

Cultural Traits	Negro Elementary Stratum	Negro Elementary Stratum	Chi-Square	Significance
Organizational and Associational Participation				
No Organizations	32	10	.13	N.S.
One or More	10	4	(1d.f.)	$p > .80$
Religious Preference				
Baptist	35	10	.94	N.S.
Other	7	4	(1d.f.)	$p > .50$
Family Decision Making				
Husband	12	1	3.93	N.S.
Both Husband and Wife	25	9	(2d.f.)	$p > .20$
Someone Else	5	4		
Parental Educational Aspirations for Children				
Graduate from High School	8	0	3.56	N.S.
Graduate from College	18	6	(2d.f.)	$p > .20$
Child Decides Himself	16	8		

Table 8. Assimilation Indicators

Assimilation Indicators	Yes Probably	Yes Definitely	No Probably	No Definitely
High School Stratum				
Funerals				
Negro (N=24)	17%	17%	49%	17%
White (N=15)	60%	33%	7%	0%
Favors				
Negro (N=24)	4%	0%	75%	21%
White (N=15)	0%	13%	47%	40%
Elementary School Stratum				
Funerals				
Negro (N=42)	38%	50%	10%	2%
White (N=14)	21%	50%	21%	8%
Favors				
Negro (N=42)	4.5%	4.5%	48%	43%
White (N=14)	50%	7%	0%	43%
College Stratum				
(Whites Only (N=21)				
Funerals	14%	29%	38%	19%
Favors	14%	5%	33%	48%